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ABSTRACT

This study sets out to examine fundamental aspects of citizenship education in Swedish schools, based on the theory that, in a democracy with a system of compulsory public education, curricula are the products of political compromise, accommodating the aims of several different groups. From this perspective, the school as an ideological state apparatus at once has a cohesive function, yet it allows scope for different interpretations of curriculum aims, and hence for change. The study is accordingly concerned with overriding school objectives and certain determinants of teaching content relating to the transmission by schools of views of society and knowledge, as embodied in citizenship education. After a background discussion of this theoretical perspective, the study begins with a historical review of the school reforms of 1918-19 and the civic curriculum code. The determinants of the content of citizenship education are analyzed next, followed by a discussion of the patriarchal, scientific-rational, and democratic premises of the civic curriculum code. References are included. (TE)

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CURRICULUM AS A POLITICAL PROBLEM:
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

(Presentation of the study "Curriculum as a Political Problem: Changing Educational Conceptions with Special Reference to Citizenship Education". Lund: Studentlitteratur. Uppsala: Uppsala Studies in Education 25, 1986).

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INTRODUCTION

The study, presented in this paper: **Curriculum as a Political Problem. Changing Educational Conceptions, with Special Reference to Citizenship Education**, sets out to examine and analyse what form certain fundamental aspects of citizenship education in Swedish schools have assumed in the course of this century. The socially and historically based curriculum theory approach of the study means that, in a political democracy and a system of compulsory public education, curricula/syllabus - as educational policy aims and as documents - have to be viewed as the products of political compromise, accommodating the aims of several different groups. Seen in this perspective - expressed in terms of a **civic curriculum code** - the school as an ideological state apparatus at once has a cohesive function **and** involves scope for differing interpretations of curriculum aims, and hence for change, reflecting the struggle among different social forces. The aspects with which the study is mainly concerned are overriding school objectives and certain **determinants** of teaching content relating to the transmission by schools of views of society and knowledge.

The determinants referred to relate to the view of society and view of knowledge conveyed by and embodied in citizenship education. These determinants of the views of society and knowledge inherent in such education and the scope for their interpretation (in teaching materials and day-to-day school practices) also form a basis for different **conceptions** with regard to the knowledge and value structure of citizenship education.

Conceptions of education can be regarded as coherent approaches regarding the fundamental dimensions which shape the design of education, with particular reference to citizenship education: the different conceptions assign subjects to different positions and give them differing status, character, and content. Moreover, the different conceptions imply differing basic views in terms of political ideology, educational philosophy, and approaches to the content of instruction.

To establish the conceptions dominant at different times, Swedish educational history is divided into three periods, chosen with reference to the subject of the study, citizenship education in schools. The periods used are broadly characterized by a patriarchal, a scientific-rational, and a democratic conception. These three conceptions can also be regarded as ideal types of educational policies and citizenship (political) education. The scientific-rational educational conception is at the focal point of the present analysis, in line with the main knowledge-constitutive interest of the study - to establish the dominant form of citizenship education in Swedish schools in the last few decades. The third, democratic, conception is still tentative in character. It has primarily taken shape in broader general and educational policy documents and can be discussed in terms of its implications for the concrete design of citizenship education.

BACKGROUND

The curriculum theory approach underlying the study derives in particular from works by Urban Dahllöf (1960, 1967, 1969, and 1971) and Ulf P. Lundgren (1972, 1977, 1979, and 1983).

The latter's main work, **Model Analysis of Pedagogical Processes** (1977), evolved historically from an earlier research project known as 'COMPASS' (Comparative Analyses of the Objectives and Processes of School Systems). The roots of this project lay, in turn, in the treatment by Swedish educational science of the most controversial issue surrounding the reform of Swedish compulsory education in 1962, namely that of ability grouping. The main aims of the project were to test the 'steering group' hypothesis, framed as early as 1960 in Dahllöf's Swedish syllabus analysis, and to test the teaching process model formulated by Dahllöf in his later research (1967, 1969, 1971).

In 1969 Dahllöf presented his first comprehensive outline of what could be regarded as 'frames for or determinants of the educational process'. What Dahllöf did was to reformulate the question of **how** the results of educational efforts are to be measured in terms of the scientifically more interesting question of **why** different results are obtained. To answer the latter question it is necessary to have conceptual apparatus which allows for

empirical studies of teaching processes ... the word 'frame' suggests that teaching processes have to be understood with reference to what is educationally possible. In the broad sense the concept 'frame' can thus be said to cover anything limiting the actual shape given to instruction. In his work, however, Dahllöf gives the frame concept a specific sense: frames impose physical and temporal limits (Lundgren 1984, p. 70, tr.). And it is precisely in this sense that 'Dahllöf's frame factor model is a model for explaining how state decisions concerning the emphases and dimensions of education limit and regulate the actual shape assumed by education' (Lundgren 1984, p. 71, tr.).

Both Dahllöf's research at that time and the COMPASS project were rooted in a normative curriculum theory approach, the fundamental criterion of which was efficiency, but they gradually turned away from it.

It was also in opposition to this view of curriculum theory and as an extension of Dahllöf's frame factor theory that Kallós and Lundgren claimed that 'curriculum studies cannot primarily be focussed on **how** a curriculum should be constructed or developed, but must primarily explain the determinants of the curriculum' Kallós and Lundgren 1979).

What the COMPASS model thus lacked, seen in these terms, and what was taken a step further in later projects, was a set of explanatory elements focusing on how the content of a curriculum is built up and legitimized, involving both historical analyses of the emergence of the education system and analyses of the ways in which notions of educational goals and content arise and are maintained.

The curriculum research presented, for example, in Kallós and Lundgren 1979 and Lundgren 1977 and 1983 is thus at once a follow-up to an earlier research tradition, represented in Sweden chiefly by Dahllöf, and a break with this tradition.

The research perspective in which these broader analyses of the territory of educational theory can primarily be discussed is the development within the sociology of education which has entailed a transcending of the assumptions of 'traditional' sociology of

education (e.g. Floud, Halsey and Martin 1956). In contrast with the concern of the latter type of sociology with education and social mobility, the effectiveness of education, etc., the question of 'power and ideology in education' (e.g. Karabel and Halsey 1977) is raised. One of the first manifestations of its breakthrough was the collection of readings entitled **Knowledge and Control** (1971), edited by Michael Young.

Thus what I take as my starting point is not the main concern of traditional sociology of education - education and social mobility (along with educational differentiation) - but the transcending and laying bare of this social reproduction by the new sociology of education. My interest, then, is in the part played by the education system in social reproduction in one specific sense: what view of society and of knowledge is transmitted by the education system and how can this be analysed in a broader context? What power relations and ideologies are implied by the content of the knowledge schools pass on?

The way of perceiving reality which the education system conveys in fact results in certain power relations either being consolidated or transformed. This transmission of ideology is, moreover, subject to constant shifts as the balance of power between social forces gradually changes. Ideological conflict exists at all levels, while the nucleus of state power and the state apparatuses, with their role of keeping society together, have to reconcile the political and ideological interests of different social forces and transmit an ideology of cohesion. Thus both a conflict and a consensus perspective must be constantly present in an analysis of the role of education in twentieth-century western society: existing conflicts constantly displace the ideological boundaries within which instruction must operate and provide meaning.

It is as a result of the perspective outlined so far that the study makes use of and seeks to develop on the 'Frame factor theory' (Dahllöf 1971, Lundgren 1972, 1977, 1979). This theory suggests that educational processes should be understood in terms of what is educationally possible - the 'frame' concept indicating what it is that limits the actual shape which instruction can assume. As the frame factor theory is constructed, it must,

Subordinating historical studies to a specific theoretical perspective in this way is in principle based on and inspired by the view of science which the German historians Kocka and Wehler call **Gesellschaftsgeschichte**.

Their view is that all scientific study must be set in an overall **gesamtgeschichtlichen** - or societal - interpretive framework relating to the social formation or period as a whole. They also demand that studies of a specific part of the whole should be linked to a declared total perspective. In this way the use of theory becomes explicit and can thus function instrumentally, i.e. it can facilitate and justify a choice of approach and problem formulation. In addition it should indicate criteria for selection and delimitation, facilitate and provide a basis for establishing relevant subperiods for a study, and provide a conceptual apparatus which makes both diachronic and synchronic comparisons possible (Kocka 1977, Wehler 1980, chapter 13).

THE SCHOOL REFORMS OF 1918-19 AND THE CIVIC CURRICULUM CODE

As a result of the school reforms of 1918-19, a new syllabus for elementary school was introduced and compulsory continuation schools were set up. These reforms were preceded by a lengthy period of official inquiry at a time of economic, political, and social upheaval, the most important trends and events of which were the final establishment of capitalist industrialism, divisive industrial conflict, and a campaign for universal suffrage, resulting in a major step forward for democracy, the introduction of an eight-hour working day, and other advances.

The question to be addressed is this: on what fundamental principles were the elementary and continuation school syllabuses of 1919 based?

The school reforms of 1918-19 were very much a political compromise involving scope for differing interpretations. However, they were also a manifestation of fundamental educational aims which have dominated Swedish educational policy ever since. The concrete expressions of these aims and the trends in terms of social demands, school ideologies, and school activities reflected by

Lundgren has written in a recent survey of the history of the theory,

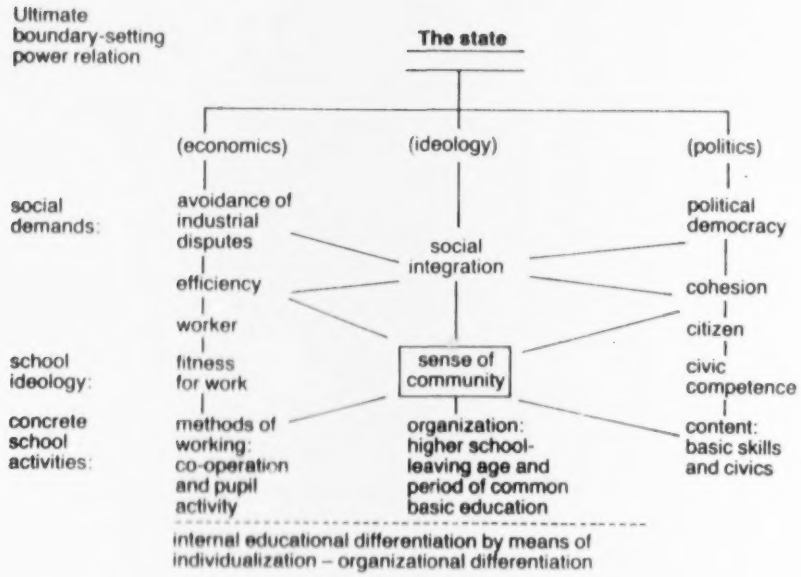
> be broadened or located within a more comprehensive social theory if empirical work is to be more than just a series of relatively trivial reflections ... if, as is necessary, the theory is to be developed, the relationship between society and the state must be defined more precisely and examined in greater depth, and the different groups of frames we have classified must be determined with regard to their history and their functional significance to this discourse (Lundgren 1984, p. 74).

In the study, several of the foundation stones and subsequent developments of the frame factor theory, particularly those contributed by Lundgren, are used as a basis both for focusing on a certain kind of content and for making more precise an overriding (curriculum and social theory) perspective. The perspective outlined is a theory about how the ideological framework which historically has staked out the boundaries of school citizenship education has taken shape and defined what has been educationally possible at different times.

This approach entails an analysis of change

1. from a longer-term **historical** point of view, i.e. change is analyzed as qualitative change over a prolonged period of time;
2. taking into account **at the same time** conditions both in society and in education, i.e. change can only be analysed in terms of a dimension which changes simultaneously in society and within education. This dimension is distinguished
3. by analysing how the society-individual relationship is perceived (in society at large and in education) by examining what **concept or concepts of politics** the education system aims to transmit via **school citizenship and political education**.

the 1918-19 reforms can be illustrated in a model of the 'civic curriculum code'.



The civic curriculum code

By learning to work and being trained for citizenship, all pupils were taught their duties as regards work and compliance with the laws instituted by the state for schools and society. They also learnt about their democratic rights as political beings, i.e. their right to vote and to participate in political life.

The maintenance of production, freedom from industrial unrest, and political democracy were themselves supported by the public interest acting through the state, which was a focus of the nation's interest. The links between the individual and society were thus a sense of community, democracy, and work, under the overall supervision of the state. And it was the state which ultimately defined the boundaries of the civic curriculum code and to which private interests had to be subordinated (see Folkundervisningskommittén IV, p. 60; V, pp. 25 ff.).

The school reforms of 1918-19, then, were a compromise between social forces. The elementary school syllabus published in 1919 and the legislation enacted on continuation schools were a

manifestation of a societally necessary consensus between the social forces involved. The basic definitions of teaching content which were adopted could, however, be changed politically, since they were ultimately dependent on the nucleus of state power and the dominant ideology transmitted by the state.

The central strand of this emerging dominant ideology was that public education was regarded primarily as a means of integrating the lower classes into a 'new' society, as part of a policy of social welfare. This new society was an emerging capitalist-industrial and democratic society, with a growing industrial working class.

The societal implications of the guiding principles of the civic curriculum code were that the necessary upholding of production and co-operation relegated conflict in the same society between employers and employees to a place of secondary importance. The existing capital relation was accepted and the existing social order, which was based on a specific mode of organizing production, was thus consolidated. The distributional question, that is, the distribution of the total value of production, was however left open to political and/or trade union action, the prior conditions of which were parliamentary democracy and an 'organized' labour market. The state apparatuses (and hence also the educational ideological apparatus) thus assumed a fundamentally bourgeois character - bourgeois democracy was established and important conditions were created for the establishment of a bourgeois hegemony. This also implied that the social forces, including (for the time being?) the trade union and political wings of the labour movement, accepted the civilizing role of capitalism and bourgeois democracy as forms of society and state respectively, as well as accepting bourgeois democracy as a representative of the public interest and a guarantee for the maintenance of the capitalist form av society.

At the same time, bourgeois democracy reflected the first step towards enabling the working class and the labour movement to challenge, by democratic and reformist means, the very social order to which they were subject. Admittedly the cohesive

function of the state was historically linked to the capital relation, but this relation was not necessarily perpetual and the elements used in ensuring cohesion were conditioned by a constant struggle between social forces.

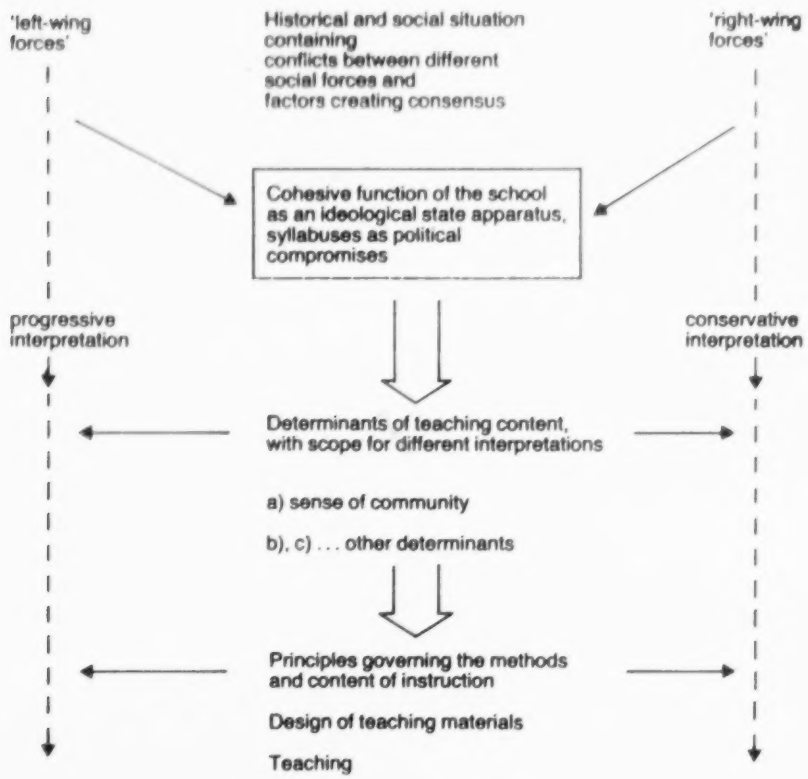
The distinctive feature of the civic curriculum code was that it incorporated different and conflicting ideologies based on different social forces. The civic curriculum code thus embodied - and embodies - the conflict existing in society. It incorporated conservative, liberal, and social democratic ideological intentions for schools and their role in society, as a result of there being some agreement on certain basic functions of schools and due to the fact that school goals were framed as political compromises.

The civic curriculum code thus brought into existence a field of tension between the roles of education in terms of social integration and change. This tension between the socially integrative and change-oriented (progressive) aspects of education I assume to have centred on the content of school instruction, particularly citizenship education. This content can in turn be linked to the determinants inherent in the civic curriculum code.

DETERMINANTS OF THE CONTENT OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

The civic curriculum code and the determinants of teaching content which it entailed were thus historically a product of a transformation of society which situated public education in a new social order and defined its character by fusing several different ideologies into a new unity. This unity reflected a necessary adjustment to the social transformation which had taken place, but in many respects it was purely superficial in the sense that it incorporated several conflicting educational ideas. Just as the civic curriculum code incorporated both an 'adjustment' to social development which was shared by all the underlying ideologies and ideological conflicts, so the determinants embodied a corresponding dualism.

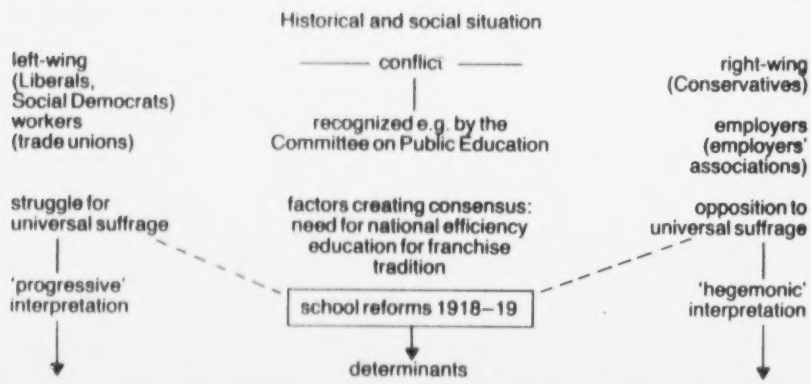
These determinants of the image of reality, view of society, and view of knowledge associated with citizenship education are (1) the inculcation of a **sense of community**, (2) a **scientific basis**, (3) the principle of **objectivity**, and (4) a **reinforcement of the existing social and economic order**. The way these determinants have been interpreted (and also criticized and challenged) in practice at different levels forms a basis for analysing citizenship education in Swedish schools in the present century in ideological terms. The determinants of citizenship education, then, were constituted in the years leading up to Sweden's educational reforms of 1918-19 and have subsequently formed a frame of reference for the content of citizenship education. These determinants have been interpreted in different ways by different social forces within the framework of different types of schools and on the basis of different school subjects. To illustrate the constitution, substance, and interpretation of these determinants, as well as their place in an analytical whole, I shall proceed from the model illustrated below.


'left-wing forces'
Historical and social situation containing conflicts between different social forces and factors creating consensus
'right-wing forces'
Cohesive function of the school as an ideological state apparatus, syllabuses as political compromises
progressive interpretation
conservative interpretation
Determinants of teaching content, with scope for different interpretations
a) sense of community
b), c) ... other determinants
Principles governing the methods and content of instruction
Design of teaching materials
Teaching

At the uppermost level, that of society as a whole, we find the tension between different social forces and the struggle to define the nature of the school as an ideological state apparatus. The influence of the scientific community on the content of instruction must also be included at this external level. The second level encompasses, in more or less concrete forms, the determinants of the content of citizenship education. Because of their cohesive function, schools always convey some kind of notion of community. The emphasis placed on community in curriculum documents, which lend expression to the necessity of schools performing a cohesive function, reflects the superficially unified nature of schools. The third level concerns teaching materials and the fourth concrete teaching. In line with existing conditions in society, each level incorporates conflict: at the first level this takes the form of different aims underlying policies on schools; at the second, different interpretations of what the determinants entail in syllabus texts; and at the third and fourth levels, the differing consequences of these determinants in practice. The scope for interpretation at levels three and four is influenced by such factors as how detailed general and subject syllabuses are, how much control higher authorities are able to exercise, and to what extent various beliefs and practices have become hegemonic.

I shall not give a detailed account in this paper of the fields of tension revealed by interpretations of these various determinants at different times. For a more detailed presentation than is given in the following models (see pp. 12, 13, 14), readers are referred to my thesis '**Curriculum as a Political Problem. Changing Educational Conceptions, with Special Reference to Citizenship Education**'.

1918–19 to 1948


Historical and social situation
left-wing (Liberals, Social Democrats) workers (trade unions)
conflict
recognized e.g. by the Committee on Public Education
right-wing (Conservatives) employers (employers' associations)
struggle for universal suffrage
factors creating consensus: need for national efficiency education for franchise tradition
opposition to universal suffrage
'progressive' interpretation
school reforms 1918–19
'hegemonic' interpretation
determinants

democracy, international solidarity	a) sense of community	national unity (foremost principle)
scientific basis for content of school instruction, inductive method	b) (positivist-empiricist) scientific basis for methods (inductive) and content of instruction	science subordinate to Christian and national requirements
factuality	c) principle of objectivity	neutrality = intersubjectivity – related to national requirements
greater knowledge of economics for teachers and pupils	d) reinforcement of the economic order	limited knowledge of economics for purpose of legitimation (mainly for teachers)
this interpretation made manifest by the 1946 School Commission (SOU 1948:27)	principles governing the methods and content of teaching	dominant in the inter-war period

The 1950s and 1960s

Historical and social situation

——— conflict ———

not acknowledged in educational policy documents

consensus created by
a technological welfare society
democracy as a superideology
'end of ideology'

introduction of nine-year compulsory comprehensive system in Lgr 62

⇩

determinants

a) sense of community = consensus
(democracy) — social education — (nation)
pressure for secularization — Christian foundation emphasized

b) positivist-empiricist scientific
basis for methods and content of instruction
school knowledge = neutral facts

c) principle of objectivity
factuality, neutrality

d) reinforcement of the economic order
greater knowledge of economics
social studies and careers guidance

⇩

principles governing the methods and content of teaching:
social education for democracy as a 'life form' and
adjustment to the demands of a changing society

Lgr 80 and citizenship education in the 1980s and 1990s

Historical and social situation

conflict

not denied in documents

democracy as content (and a form)		democracy as a form (obligation)
progressive interpretation	determinants	conservative interpretation
promotion of democratic processes, but also consideration of the scope of democracy and equality	a) sense of community in terms of agreement on *democracy* very much stressed in Lgr 80	consolidation of the forms of democracy ('our democracy') – Christian basis
(endeavour to achieve . . .) holistic view, central concepts, criticism of fragmentary transmission of knowledge	b) scientific basis	(tendency towards . . .) atomistic approach to facts, basic skills divorced from social context
(emphasis on . . .) – balanced, comprehensive approach – scope for different values – scope for different scientific approaches	c) principle of objectivity	(emphasis on . . .) – neutrality, factuality, intersubjectivity (prevailing state of research) – objectivism
knowledge about and ability to question the existing economic structure and its consequences, e.g. commercialism; meaning of the concept of economic democracy	d) reinforcement of the economic order	knowledge of economics as a legitimation of the existing economic system (= our democracy)
? ?	teaching materials concrete teaching	? ?

With reference to this analysis three 'waves' can be discerned in the history of Swedish educational policy. All of them have been characterized by radical forward thrusts and the gradual re-casting of these thrusts into educational reforms which have preserved existing society while improving the position of the majority of the population.

These three waves or periods are:

1. From the end of the nineteenth century until the school reform of 1927.
2. From the closing years of the Second World War to the introduction of nine-year comprehensive education in 1962.
3. From the late 1960s to the present day (this cycle of reform has yet to be completed).

In all three of these waves of Swedish educational reform, an existing, tradition-based education system - involving a certain type of content, organization, and methods - has been called in question, been subjected to the scrutiny of government - appointed committees, undergone gradual transformation, and eventually assumed a new form. The extent and nature of such changes have been very much dependent on to what extent educational issues - and which educational issues - have been politicized, i.e. represented as legitimate areas of change. During these periods three different conceptions, dominant to differing degrees, can be discerned. In the first wave of reform a patriarchal conception was dominant, during the second a scientific-rational conception, and in the third a democratic conception has begun to emerge. I shall now turn to the third step and the final conclusions of my study, these three conceptions of education.

EDUCATIONAL CONCEPTIONS AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

I earlier referred to three 'waves' in terms of educational policy surrounding the curriculum reforms that have taken place in Sweden in the present century. Further elaboration on this then showed there to be three different educational conceptions

within the framework of the civic curriculum code. This code is central to my curriculum theory-based analysis of the elementary, continuation, compulsory comprehensive, and upper secondary school syllabuses, beginning with the school reforms of 1918-19. The three waves and conceptions derives from an analysis of the determinants of the content of citizenship education and the ways in which they have been interpreted. This analysis showed that there has always been a potential for conflict over how the determinants of teaching content should be fleshed out.

The educational conceptions which fall within the framework of a civic curriculum code are the patriarchal, the scientific-rational, and the democratic. Roughly speaking, the patriarchal conception was dominant following the school reforms of 1918-19, reaching its zenith in the 'preparedness' emphasis in education during the Second World War. In the post-war years it became considerably weaker and was superseded more and more by a scientific-rational conception, having first been challenged by a democratic educational conception based on specific premises. Some of the basic features of the scientific-rational conception had existed in programmatic form even before the 1918-19 reforms, but it was not until the 1950s and 1960s that this conception exerted a more general influence on education. The scientific-rational conception also began to be challenged in the late 1960s, however, by one focusing on the question of participation. The latter, referred to here as a democratic educational conception, cannot be as clearly characterized as the other two, since it has not assumed a definitive form. However, its basic features will also be outlined in the following pages.

Once this preliminary categorization of educational conceptions in historical perspective has been made, the temporal dimension can be transcended and the conceptions also discussed as ideal types. An ideal type is an intensification or articulation of certain components of reality, a metaphor which makes certain empirical facts stand out more clearly. My hypothesis is that these three conceptions can, in addition to being viewed in the historical dimension, be understood as timeless systems of perceiving within the framework of the civic curriculum code, of which the scientific-rational conception has been dominant in recent decades, though challenged by the democratic.

What fundamental characteristics and what underlying principles and manifestations enable the various educational conceptions to be more clearly distinguished and described? The most basic criterion is the nature of citizenship education and its place in the overall political socialization provided by schools. This can be analysed in greater depth in relation to underlying educational philosophies, which assign differing roles and status to different school subjects and which also to some extent define the subject structure of the social studies sector. Other criteria are the respective dominant interpretations of the determinants of citizenship education content, i.e. views of society and of knowledge, and the various concepts of politics which exist. The conceptions can also be distinguished on the basis of instructional typologies relating to history and civics, the school subjects with the greatest potential to provide political education. The different educational conceptions also emerge more clearly when related to the type of school organization which they presuppose and the concepts of democracy and equality which they imply. Thus the perspective can be broadened and the three educational conceptions set in a societal context - the place and function of the education system in a democracy.

The Patriarchal Conception of Education

A basic condition of citizenship education according to this conception is early organizational differentiation in education. For those groups proceeding to higher forms of education, in Sweden chiefly the secondary schools (**läroverk**), the dominant educational philosophy was for a long time that of perennialism. For the larger groups only receiving education at elementary and continuation schools (**folkskola** and **fortsättningsskola**), the chief educational-philosophical foundation was a specific, Germaninfluenced form of 'reform pedagogy'. For a long time Kerschensteiner's patriarchal principle of inculcating civic competence and fitness for work remained characteristic of the disciplining of the young working class via the education system. The bipartite organization of the education system itself constituted a structural foundation for the subsequent assignment of

pupils to their places in the social division of labour. Mobility, both in strictly educational terms and in social terms generally, was low. Pupils who did not go to secondary school or to a municipal intermediate school (**kommunal mellanskola**) after leaving elementary school could look forward to continuation school and, in the majority of cases, subordinate employment.

As regards citizenship education, religious instruction (if this subject can in fact be regarded as part of such education) was for a long time of major importance, and history was the main subject in this connection. In both secondary school 'history with civics' and elementary school history and continuation school civics, the historically legitimated principle of national unity was of the first order of importance, and views of science and knowledge were subordinate to it. The history of the pupils' own country thus formed the basis of an education which set out to instil a sense of national unity. The subject history consequently bore the stamp of the classical model, in terms of the instructional typologies presented earlier. This also meant that civics was clearly seen as subordinate to history in terms of providing citizenship education. To some extent civics was designed as an appendage to history.

Citizenship education at continuation school was typically a 'concentric' transmission of civic values, the individual being integrated into the larger society via home, family, local community and parish. An explicit value base was transmitted which directly legitimized and supplemented the 'national' education provided in history lesson.

The patriarchal conception's concept of politics is entirely constitutionalist, focusing on the rules and regulations laid down by law. Politics is something carried on by the bodies responsible for determining these rules, legislature and government. The classical approach to history and the emphasis on political history further underline the constitutional concept of politics as something largely over the heads of ordinary citizens. The patriarchal conception's view of citizenship education found consistent expression in the early years of the Second World War, when the 1940 School Committee's emphasis on wartime

'preparedness' in education reflected the perceived need for national 'character training'. Since 1945 the patriarchal conception has been the target of severe criticism. However, a patriarchal inculcation of a sense of community, with its emphasis on nationalistic citizenship education, has never been totally discarded. It can take on a new lease of life in times of international unrest.

A patriarchal view of citizenship education has survived in a lack of political and citizenship education for young people belonging to the working class, even for example in the vocational courses of the upper secondary system after 1970. Whereas other upper secondary school pupils are taught more in-depth civics on top of the superficial instruction received at compulsory school, those taking two-year vocational courses are given a so-called 'introduction to working life' (**arbetslivsorientering**) - a subject given very little space on the timetable and in any case leaving working life entirely unproblematical. The teaching of a relatively narrow 'fitness for work' continues to predominate.

While the patriarchal conception remained to the fore, the determinants of the content of citizenship education implied by the civic curriculum code were for a long time a challenge which was brushed aside in favour of 'higher' interests, above all the inculcation of a sense of national unity and a narrow training of fitness for work. For many years the demand for a scientific basis and for objectivity, as well as guidelines concerning instruction in economics, were overdetermined by national interests. Such interests were interpreted in a patriarchal spirit, with the result that working life was not viewed as something of which pupils needed to gain a deeper understanding, but as something in which pupils should as a matter of course become incorporated, as manpower occupying subordinate positions.

The scientific-rational conception of education

The scientific-rational conception of education evolved from a democratic conception founded on certain premises - primarily an unproblematical, one-sided view of science and a consequent faith in science and the scientific community. The firm faith in objective science as a guideline for the content of school instruction which the School Commission evinced concealed the existence of different values, to say nothing of different ideologies. Within given general frameworks, content became a matter for subject experts to decide. The gradually increasing emphasis on the concept of objectivity and its close link with the scientific community reflected the depolitization entailed by this conception; conditioning factors in the broader society were partly obscured by a democratic super-ideology.

Under the influence of the scientific-rational conception, at a time when a longer period of comprehensive education was made compulsory, the social studies field was developed, with separate subjects related to underlying academic disciplines. This fundamental, essentialist organization of the social studies subjects has subsequently been balanced by a progressivist endeavour to integrate different school subjects and by at least lip-service to a pupil-centred approach, as manifested, for example, in options to be chosen by pupils and careers education and guidance. However, the essentialist subject structure formed the institutional basis and became the dominant model for the social studies field. The conflict between essentialism and progressivism, which is ever present in this conception, has on the Swedish educational scene primarily been sustained by, on the one hand, the established academic disciplines and the subject department of schools of education, representing an essentialist approach, and, on the other hand, department of educational research at the universities and schools of education, underpinning a progressivist stance.

Interpretation of the determinants according to the scientific-rational conception was closely connected with the positivist-empiricist basis of instruction and the scientific community sustaining this view of science. History and civics came to be

seen as separate entities. The formerly more or less explicitly value-based aims of these subjects - the national and classical aims of history and the democratic education aims of civics - were watered down as a result of the underlying view of science, and the apparent neutrality of the subjects was consolidated by the interpretation placed on the concept of objectivity. Accordingly, history gradually abandoned the classical model and moved towards objectivism and formalism, in line with the positivist-empiricist approach. History became an 'orientation' subject and a means of providing training in propaganda criticism.

In civics, the inculcating of a sense of community came to be based on technology, working life, and preparation for a career, and educational and careers guidance assumed major importance. The underlying metaphor of civics - technology, working life, economic growth, career choice/vocational education - was the latent value base of the social studies subjects. The pupil was interpellated primarily as a future labour resource. The emphasis in citizenship education on a working, functioning society meant that the existing course of social development was taken for granted and assumed to be of value **per se**. Though problems were also examined to some extent, citizenship education was undeniably designed in such a way as to transmit the value base of social developments already taking place. The clear separation of history and civics and their specific approaches meant that compulsory schools provided no planned political and citizenship education based on issues of contemporary history. The knowledge put across was largely shallow and fragmentary.

Under the influence of the scientific-rational educational conception, the superficial social studies taught at compulsory comprehensive schools have been followed by highly differentiated forms of citizenship/political education at the post-compulsory level, where the need for such education has been seen as dependent on pupils' future positions in the division of labour. As a result, working-class children, pupils on two-year vocational courses, have received very rudimentary citizenship education. The view that such pupils do not need citizenship and political education going beyond what they have received at

compulsory school represents a fusion of a patriarchal and a scientific-rational conception of education in implications to the effect that 'vocational school students lack the intellectual prerequisites for benefiting from critical schooling and/or that such schooling would be irrelevant to vocational training'.

A democratic conception of education

The first signs of a democratic educational conception emerged at the end of the Second World War. In what was obviously a reaction to the 'preparedness' emphasis in education during the war and above all to the threat of fascism, there developed a reconstructionist spirit, a range of ideas as to how the education system might support the democratic development of society by educating people capable of sustaining democracy and designing tomorrow's society in line with 'citizens' own insights and wishes'. Too narrow a view of science, among other things, presented an obstacle to such a development at that time, however. In the longer term the education system was subordinated to the demands of economic and technological development and the scientific-rational educational conception took shape.

Tendencies towards a democratic conception of education have re-emerged as a challenge to the scientific-rational conception since the end of the 1960s, as greater demands have been pressed for citizens to be able to share in decision making in society and working life. The scientific-rational conception has, however, remained strong all the time, its arguments having hegemonic weight. This conception's rational, uniform interpretation of determinants has largely blocked efforts to make the content of school instruction more of a political issue, in line with the democratic conception of education, so that conflict can be brought to light and opposing values brought face to face. A kind of objectivism rooted in a system of separate subjects, perpetuated by teaching materials, has formed the basis of schools' transmission of 'facts' in line with the instructional models mentioned above.

A democratic conception of education calls in question the instructional theories/models for history and civics which are implied by the scientific-rational conception. What instructional approaches in fact correspond to a democratic conception and how these subjects should be related more specifically are questions I cannot elaborate on here. Let me simply point out that, on the basis of the typologies discussed for these subjects, the categorial theory of history teaching and 'reflective inquiry' for civics would to some extent appear compatible with a democratic conception of education. However, it may be necessary to question the traditional forms of these two subjects and allow them to together form a basis for political education.

Whereas a scientific-rational conception oscillates in educational-philosophical terms between the basically incompatible opposites of essentialism and progressivism, the basis of the democratic conception is a reconstructionist perspective. The fundamental consideration here is that the role of schools in the development of society is to educate citizens in such a way as to prepare them to participate in the 'improvement' of society; schools are a means of developing and realizing certain political ideals: democracy and equality. To clarify the differences between the conceptions in terms of the societal function of schools, it is necessary to examine their concepts of democracy and equality, images of society, and modes of rationality.

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